

1944

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Foster

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Subject: Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest
by R. Benedict

For: Methods of Cultural Anthropology

By: R.S. MacNeish

Date: Jan. 21, 1944

*I suggest you re-write this so that
it is more strongly an
analysis of the paper
// the spirit the content of
what she does is enough to do for
you to do it
3) you compare the findings*

For Benedict the major problems in the study of a particular people are: the making of an adequate descriptive state-
of their culture and the understanding of cultural dynamics. *that is how a culture
is changing*

I believe that Benedict would consider these general problems the
task of all of ^{social} anthropology and particularly the group she has
come to be part of. In this paper the problems are of a less gen-
eral nature, for here she is attempting to discern why the Pueblo
Indians of the Southwest are so strongly differentiated in their
behavior from the surrounding groups. The key, she ^{discovers} ~~believes~~, should
be found in their ritual activities which are so characteristic
of their lives. However, a study of the ritual of the Pueblo and
that of other peoples leads her to believe that it is something
more fundamental than mere ritual <sup>or prominence of ritual in their total life
guides</sup> that these cultures into dif-
ferent channels. The situation being that these formalized activities
are often quite similar in form ^{or about as prominent in their total life} but as far as individual be-
havior is concerned, motivated by quite different drives. *For example,*

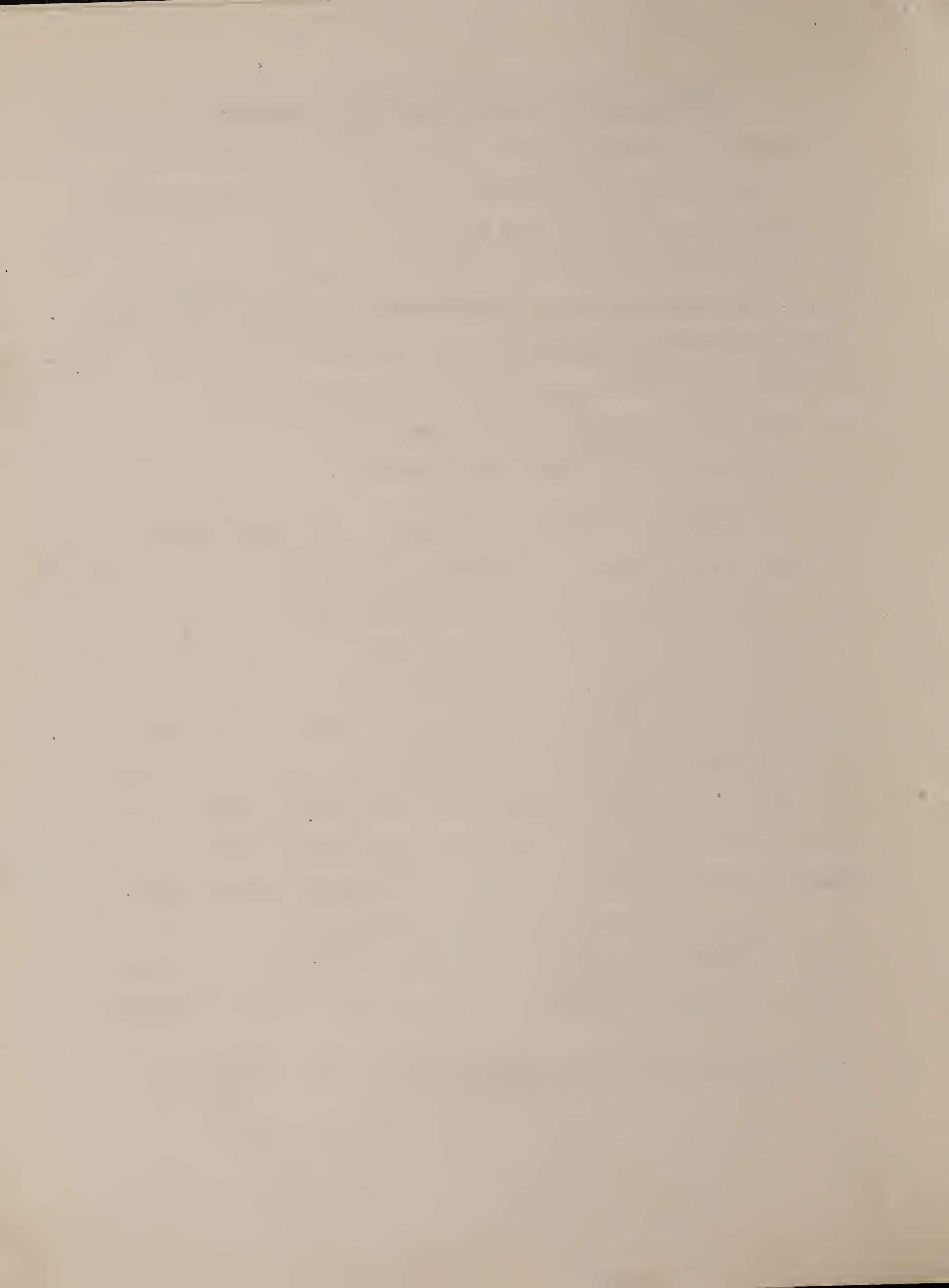
In attempting to account for this difference Benedict
sets up ³ hypotheses which she ^{SP} ~~believes~~ may solve the problem. ~~She~~
~~also, gives a method for understanding a culture and its culture~~
~~dynamics. Here, we see Benedict applying scientific methods to~~
~~human relations.~~

~~It appears that she has three major hypotheses.~~ The first assumption is that every group will select certain traits and that these traits are integrated into a pattern or ~~configuration~~. Secondly, the pattern and the selection of traits is controlled by an ethnos or psychological type which integrates them progressively. ¹ ~~This last assumption, I might add, has often been used by Thomas and others and is nothing new conceptually.~~ The final assumption is methodological, she ^{SP} believes these psychological types may be classified as existing between ~~the~~ two diametrically different ways 'of arriving at the values of existence'.

These two extreme psychological types ~~are called~~ Dionysian and Apollonian (this classification has been derived from Nietzsche). The Dionysian individual might be briefly described as an escapist whose most valued moments are found outside of the boundaries imposed upon him by his senses. He desires to reach psychological states by excesses that are above and beyond the ties of his everyday life. The Apollonian is the conservative type who sticks to the middle of the road. His greatest satisfaction is in being a stable individual who maintains control over any disruptive psychological state. ~~These two psychological types might be designated as ideal types.~~

The practical application of Benedictt's thesis might be summed ^{thusly} ~~as this~~: the behaviour the individual exhibits in various social situations determines the psychological type representative of

1. These assumption were not discernable in this article so I took them from Benedict's latter works.



of their culture. In this particular article she uses as an example the type of behaviour the Pueblo of the Southwest shows in various ritual activities. In all the cases which she cites the Pueblo exhibit a typical Apollonian behaviour. All the groups around the Pueblo show a Dionysian type of behaviour. Also, the traits adopted historically must be adaptable to the psychological type of that culture. For instance, the Pueblo never adopted the peyote cult though they were in contact with groups having this cult. The Dionysian Pima, a neighboring group, did take up this cult. In my opinion, the factual matter of this article seems to confirm her original assumption.

However, this particular method of determining these psychological types is open to criticism. ~~Especially so~~ since we are interested in anthropological methods and particularly the process employed in obtaining certain significant social facts. In the material under discussion and in all her latter articles the process of ~~where and how~~ ^{of} discerning these psychological types in a social structure is not clear. If we were to study the Eskimo who have a minimum of formalized activity ~~can~~ ^{could} we expect to derive as easily our psychological type from behavior in ritual, as in the case of the Pueblo? ~~Also, in studies of modern society she derives her psychological types by observing behavior in the economic system.~~ What part of society should we study and under what should we study one part in preference to another? These questions I believe Benedict should say something about.

The second criticism would be of her statement that the

culture dynamics of a culture can best be understood by using her methods and assumption. In my opinion certain phenomena of culture of culture dynamics can not be seen by her process. Benedict's studies may give us excellent generalizations about acculturation but they will tell us little about the part of culture dynamics that involve the wider aspects of culture phenomena that deal with the totality of culture and 'laws of human behaviour and social change'. It appears that she defines culture dynamics as meaning acculturation which is both a limited definition of the word and but a part of a larger phenomena which others have called culture dynamics.

NA
Self
Interest
Exploitation

The final criticism comes concerning her use of the psychological data. The inference throughout the article that culture traits and the acquisition of new culture traits are governed by the ~~ethnos~~ or psychological type in a culture. This is in direct opposition to the theory of the psychologists who maintain that behaviour and psychological types usually are reflections and governed by the social and natural environmental situations (~~the traits~~).

What is
the
difference

In conclusion let me say that Benedict's type of study will make a larger contribution to social psychology than to anthropology. Nevertheless her work will be of use to anthropologists, and the outstanding aspect still remains the applying of scientific method to social data.

The psychologists might well ask if the Pueblo were to derive a new economic system or their social system be disrupted by catastrophic condition would not the psychologists suppose of their culture change

Subject: Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest,
by Ruth Benedict.

For: Methods of Cultural Anthropology

By: R. S. MacNeish

Date: January 21, 1944.

~~The main problems that Benedict feels to be involved in~~ ^{For} ~~the main~~
^{problems} in the study of a particular people are: the making of a descriptive statement of a culture, and the understanding of cultural dynamics. I believe that Benedict would call the solving of these general problems the task of all of anthropology. In this particular paper the problems are of a less general nature, for here she is attempting to find out why the Pueblo Indians are strongly differentiated ^{in their behavior} from that of the surrounding people. The key, she feels, should be found in their ritualized activities which are characteristic of their lives. However, a study of their ritual and ^{that} ~~the ritual~~ of other peoples leads her to believe that it is something deeper and more fundamental than mere ritual that guides these cultures, as these formalized activities are often ^{superficially} quite similar, but as far as individual behavior is concerned, quite different.

In attempting to account for this ^{difference} ~~similarity~~ Benedict sets up hypotheses which she believes may solve her ~~problem~~. ^{or} ~~she~~ ^{also} give a method for understanding a culture and its culture dynamics. Here we see Benedict making ^{applying scientific method} ~~an attempt to be a~~ ~~scientist about human relations.~~
^{to}

It appears that she has 3 ^{major} ~~main~~ lymphatics.

However, let us get on to the assumptions. The first assumption is that every group will select certain traits and that these traits are integrated into a pattern or configuration.

These ~~patterns~~ and the selection of traits is controlled by some ^{of the} ~~some~~ ethnos or psychological type ^{which} ~~that~~ integrates them progressively.

¹³ These last assumptions, I might add, ~~were~~ often used by Thomas and others and ^{is} ~~are~~ not exactly ^{have} ~~new~~. The final assumption is methodological, ~~in that~~ she believes ~~that~~ these psychological types may be classified ^{as existing between the} ~~in terms of the~~ diametrically different ways of arriving at the values of existence.

These two extreme psychological types are called Dionysian and Apollonian (this classification ^{has been derived} ~~being taken~~ from Nietzsche).

The Dionysian individual might be briefly described as an escapist whose most valued moments are found outside of the boundaries imposed ^{upon} on him by his senses ^{He} ~~and~~ desires to reach psychological states by excess that are above and beyond the ties of his every-

day life. The Apollonian is the conservative type who sticks to the middle of the road, and whose greatest satisfaction is being a ~~good~~ stable individual who maintains control over any

disruptive psychological state. These two psychological types might be ~~called~~ ^{designated as} ideal types.

might be called ideal types.
The particular application of Benedict shows how;
How the individual acts in a particular society can
be best described according to Benedict by seeing what psycho-
logical type ^{the individual} of behavior he shows in various social situations.
^{determines} the ^{the} psychological type representative of his culture.
In this particular article it ~~would be~~ ^{she uses as an example} what type of behavior
the Pueblo of the Southwest shows in various ritual activities.

Leslie A. White does concerning the coorelation of social evolution
- technological evolution. Benedicts studies may give us fine gener-
alizations about the individual and society but they tell us very
and part of culture dynamics that involve the wider aspects of
cultual phenomna that deal with the totality of culture and "laws
of human behavoir". It would almost seem that she defines cultural
dynamics as meaning acculturation which is a narrow definition of the concept
The final critizism comes concerning her use of psych-
ological data. ^{my} ~~It is inferred~~ ^{The inference} thru out the article that the culture
traits and the ^{acquisition} ~~aquiring~~ of new culture traits are ~~reflections and~~
are governed by the ethnos or psychological type in a culture. This is
direct opposition to the ^{theory} ~~ideas~~ of the psychologists who tell us
that behavoir and psychological types usually are reflections of
the social and environmental situations.

In conclusion let me say that Benedicts type of study
will ^{make a large contribution to social psychology} ~~in spite of its limitations will make certain contributions to~~
~~social psychology and anthropology~~ ^{anthropology}. However, ^{outstanding aspect} ~~the finest thing~~
^{apply} ~~about~~ her studies still remains the attempt to ^{method} ~~be~~ scientific with
social data.

It appears that she has

It so happens that ^{which} in all the cases ^{cites} she gives, the Pueblo shows typical Apollonian behavior. All ^{groups} others around the Pueblo show Dionysian behavior. Also, the traits ^{adopted} historically must ^{be} ^{adaptable to} conform with the psychological type of that culture. ^{For instance} Thus, the Pueblo never adopted the peyote cult although they were ⁱⁿ contact with groups having this cult. While the Dionysian Pima ^{and neighboring group} did adopt this cult. ^{In my opinion,} The factual matter of this article seems to back up her original assumptions, as well as show the method by which these particular ~~that~~ belong to particular cultures may be discovered.

However, this particular method ^{of determining} finding out these psychological types is open to criticism. Especially so since I am interested in anthropological methods and particularly the processes ^{employed} that is used in getting certain significant social facts. In Benedict's ^{the individual under discussion} article and all her latter articles the process of where ^{and how} to ~~hunt for~~ ^{discover} these psychological types in a social structure is not clear. If we were to study the Eskimo who have a minimum of formalized activity can we expect to derive as easily our psychological type from behavior in ritual as from the pueblo? ^{Also, in studies of modern society she derives her psychological type by studying the economic system} If we can not then What part of the society should we study? ^{ns} These questions I believe Benedict should say something about.

The second criticism would be of her statement that ~~a description of a culture and culture dynamics can best be understood by using her methods and assumptions.~~ ^{In my opinion,} Certain phenomena of culture dynamics can not be seen by her process. How could Benedict arrive at conclusions about culture dynamics of the type that

[Dict of
types in the cultures of the Southwest
by MacNeish]

